

PLACES ABOUT THEBES¹

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OFTEN the death of a scholar means that his unfinished work and notes pass with him; it is noteworthy that students of the late Professor Kurt Sethe have carried on some of his studies. Materials which he gathered on the topography of the Theban nome have been arranged and extended by Professor Eberhard Otto and published in a series which Sethe began.

The author was handicapped to some extent by the fact that several of the publications of the war years were unavailable to him. Moreover, it was not possible for him to come to Luxor before the publication of his study. The additions and changes he would have been able to make, had he first visited Egypt, might not have bulked large in the total mass of material he has presented, but they would have made the monograph clearer and more complete. This article attempts in some measure to accomplish that purpose.

The one feature of Egyptian geography that is constantly shifting is the course of the Nile. It is interesting to compare the maps of the Theban area prepared by Napoleon's cartographers² with the map of the same district issued by the Survey

¹ A review article devoted to Eberhard Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus*. ("Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens," Band XVI.) Berlin, 1952.

While preparing this article, I discussed many of the matters herein with Professor George R. Hughes, Field Director of the Epigraphic Survey; Labib Habachi, Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt; and the late Professor Harold H. Nelson. Dr. Nelson generously offered me the use of his extensive notes on Theban temple inscriptions gathered during his many years as Field Director of the Epigraphic Survey. I availed myself of but few of these. This article would have profited from the use of his index of deities appearing on the walls of the Theban temples.

larger than the area in the immediate vicinity of the temple.

While one does not expect every small ancient building to be mentioned in such a study, there should be some notice of the temple of Mentuhotep V dedicated to Horus,⁶ situated on the top of the cliff somewhat to the north of the entrance of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, and of the Temple of Isis, now called Deir Shelwit,⁷ on the desert's edge between three and four kilometers south of Medinet Habu. Most of the decoration of the latter small temple was carried out in the reign of Hadrian. Other features deserving notice are the small sun temple just to the north of Deir Shelwit, and the ancient causeway or road which passes to the rear of the palace of Amenhotep III and goes slightly into the east of the sun temple, running into the cultivation a little to the south.⁸

The extent of the Theban nome was not great. Sesostris I had made a stela to mark "the northwest boundary of the name of Nekhen, south of *Swanyt*" (Inscription 1).⁹ Even if the suggestion first put forth by Spiegelberg and followed by Otto (p. 101) is accepted, that the original name of *Swanyt* was *Swiniw*, the frequency of the former writing in the Middle Kingdom¹⁰ would seem to preclude the identifi-

⁶ Indicated by fragments published by Petrie, *Qurneh*, Pl. VII. Miss R. L. B. Moss, who pointed this out to me, expects to change the designation in the second edition of *Topographical Bibliography*, Vol. II.

⁷ The Arabic article has been omitted intentionally, as its use appears unjustified.

⁸ Both the sun temple and the causeway are mentioned by William C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *JNES*, X (1951), 36 and n. 12. The Royal Air Force, *Aerial Photographic Survey*, No. 11, "Thebes," dated 7-5-21, shows plainly the sun temple and the course of the causeway. On a brief survey during the winter 1952-53, I was not able to ascertain on the ground just where the causeway reached the edge of the cultivation.

⁹ *Orientalia*, N. S. Vol. XIX (1950), Tab. XXXVIII.

¹⁰ Ranke, *Persennamen*, I, 186.8, and Otto, *loc. cit.*

cation of the town on the stela with this place. The author (p. 3) thinks that perhaps the northern part of the nome included the district of *Renyf*; however, this name is uncertain,¹¹ and its exact location is unknown.¹² As for the "northern *w-rt*," Hayes has pointed out that this refers to the administrative district of the kingdom and not of the nome.¹³

The inscriptions which Otto cites (p. 11) in support of his belief that the city of *W3st* included the area of the Luxor Temple in pharaonic times seem to the reviewer to give him little support. Opposed to this conception is the inscription of Haremhab that after the end of the feast of Opet in the Luxor Temple the god Amun "returned in peace to *W3st*."¹⁴ The "Upper Gateway of Karnak," that at the east, was *lft hr n W3st*,¹⁵ which indicates that the Thebes of the New Kingdom was to the east of Karnak, though it may, of course, have extended farther. In the Ptolemaic period Thebes seems to have been approximately contiguous with the

¹¹ The place name is found only in Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara*, Pl. VI. In Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re' at Thebes*, Pl. XXXIII, the traces do not fit Newberry's reading. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, III, Pl. XXIV, does not include the locality in his geographical list, so he may have regarded the reading as uncertain. In the spring of 1953 the inscription had traces only of the *w-chek*. I am not convinced by Griffith's reading of *Rsnf* in Rylands XV, A. 3, B. 4, noted in *The Alder Papyri*, p. 78, n. 1, 6.

¹² The two proposed locations noted by Otto, p. 3, n. 1, are purely guesses, whose only bases are that these modern towns are thought to be at the approximate northern limit of the Theban nome.

¹³ "The Government of Egypt in the Middle Kingdom," *JNES*, XII (1953), 31-33.

¹⁴ The latest publication is by Sir Alan Gardiner, *JEA*, XXXIX (1953), 13-31.

¹⁵ So in the inscription of Thutmose IV on the single obelisk; see Marucchi, *Gli Obelisci etiopiani di Roma*, Pl. II (Barguet, *Ann. Serv.*, L [1950], 274, omits the *n* before *W3st*), repeated, *ibid.* through *W3st*, by Rameses II in an inscription whose position is indicated in Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*, below K I 100-102. References to this volume (hereafter referred to as "N. K.P.") are given according to Nelson's list of abbreviations on p. vii. An index to the places on which the location numbers appear is found on p. ix.

modern village of Karnak (p. 12).¹⁶ When the drainage canal was dug about the Karnak temple area in 1925, apparently no advantage was taken of the opportunity to study the structures then cut through. It seems that some evidence of the type of buildings and period of occupancy might have been gained.

The great state and mortuary temples were the most evident features of the landscape, but popular shrines and less awesome scenes were closer to the hearts of the inhabitants. One scribe recalled "the glory of the cedar, beloved of Thebes, upon the way of orio-sphinxes."¹⁷ There are several such ways. One went from the second pylon at Karnak to the quay before the temple. The earliest inscriptions now remaining are cartouches of Rameses II, but the few remaining give the impression of being secondary. Later the bases were reinscribed by Phodjem I while he was first prophet.¹⁸ It is not certain that these are the ones whose bringing to *pr 3mn* by Phodjem (as king) was commemorated by his queen Henut-

¹⁶ Otto has not used the topographical material in *Glanville, Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, I (London, 1939), and the supplement thereto, "Notes on a Demotic Papyrus from Thebes," *Essays and Studies Presented to Stanley Arihur Cook* (London, 1950), pp. 59-65. I understand that a wider survey of the Theban topography of the Ptolemaic period is included by Dr. Mustafa el Amir in his dissertation, which utilizes the demotic papyrus discovered at Dirâ' abd'n Naga and published as the "Philadelphia Papyrus" by Reich in facsimile (mostly without translation) in *Mitram*, II and III (1936), VII-IX (1938). It is hoped that this may be published soon.

Further material on the topography of the Theban area in the Greco-Roman period is found in Bataille, "Thèbes Gréco-romaine," *Chronique d'Égypte*, No. 52 (July 1951), pp. 325-53. The article is a condensation of two theses, one of which has now appeared as *Les Mémoires* (IFAO, "Recherches d'Archéologie et d'Histoire," Vol. XXIII [Le Caire, 1952]). This volume utilizes such demotic material as is available in translation.

¹⁷ P. Bologna 1094: 10, 11; see Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanea* ("Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca," VII), p. 10, and the translation of the same by Riccardo Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanea* ("Brown Egyptological Studies," Vol. I), p. 28. I owe the primary reference to the notes of Dr. Nelson.

tawy.¹⁹ The sphinxes between the tenth pylon and the Mut inclosure have the name of Haremhob, while those along the road before the temple of Khonsu bear the name of Amenhotep III.²⁰ The avenue which went in a straight line between the Luxor Temple and the Karnak area was finally lined with human-headed sphinxes of Nekhtanebo I,²¹ but it is probable that these replaced earlier sphinxes.

Several Theban buildings are listed in the tomb of Ramose, No. 166, who was "Overseer of Works in Karnak."²² Unfortunately, the published copy is erroneous. The essential elements are given in Inscription 2. The places mentioned are (a) "Thebes is like Heaven," position unknown; (b) "The Settlement of Thebes," on which see below; (c) "Illuminating Thebes," the second pylon at Karnak;²³ (d) "Amun, Enduring of Monuments," discussed further below; (e) "Beneficent for his father," otherwise unknown unless it is a rephrasing of the name of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak; and (f) "The August Treasury of Amon-re," probably the treasury at Karnak.

¹⁹ These data are from personal observation. For bibliography see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, II, 9. For position, see N. K. P. K. A 235, 236 and K O 100, 101. Originally there must have been from 106 to 120 of these sphinxes between the present second pylon and the quay; 98 are still preserved in some part. On the bases, at the front, Phodjem had inscribed the names of local gods and their towns; of these, over 50 have enough of the inscription preserved to give geographical information. However, there seems to be no geographical order, and their importance is principally corroborative.

²⁰ On the dorsal pillar of a Sekhmet statue made by Amenhotep III: for bibliography see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 91 (10).

²¹ For bibliography see *ibid.*, pp. 63, 75, and for a notation of the position and remaining inscriptions, see N. K. P. Pl. XIV, Figs. 2 and 9.

²² *Orientalia*, N. S., XIX (1950), 362, Tab. XXXII, XXXV. Zakaria Ghoneim, who excavated these sphinxes, pointed out to me the cartouche of Nekhtanebo I on the base of a sphinx at the Karnak end of the avenue.

²³ See Otto, p. 16.

²⁴ See further below on the discussion of the second pylon at Karnak.

The other occurrences of "The Settlement of Thebes" are given by Otto (p. 32). The chief evidence for its location is from the scene in the temple of Khonsu,²⁴ where the god worshiped is "Amon-re of United with Eternity, who is in the Settlement of Thebes." Behind the figure of Amun is a female figure personifying "The Settlement of Thebes, which is in the Estate of Amun," with the name inclosed in the symbol of a walled area upon her head. Since "Amon-re of United with Eternity" was the god of the Mortuary Temple of Rameses III, Medinet Habu,²⁵ and, as far as is known, was not worshiped elsewhere, the location must be on the west side of the river. It is tempting to see *grg W3st*, "The Settlement of Thebes," as a later designation for *Ht-hr-nbs*, which was personified in the same manner.²⁶

The shrine, "Amun, Enduring of Monuments," is also mentioned twice in blocks from the Hatshepsut sanctuary, where the addition of the words, "of alabaster," seems to indicate that the building was that erected by Amenhotep I.²⁷ Otto's suggestion (p. 22) that Thutmose III removed this and erected his own alabaster shrine of the same name cannot be based on the inscription of Thutmose III in the gateway of the seventh pylon at Karnak which was copied by Sethe.²⁸ The position of the hieroglyphs (Inscription 3) shows that the sign following the cartouche can hardly have been *mn*, as read by Sethe, and the space of the broken area below is too great for his restoration. The peripteral shrine to the southeast of this pylon,

²⁴ N. K. P. K M 201.

²⁵ Nelson, "The Identity of Amon-Re of United with Eternity," *JNES*, I (1942), 127-55.

²⁶ It seems less probable that this referred to the walled area about Medinet Habu itself, though the Florence inscription No. 1005 does not oppose this, as it cannot be dated as precisely as Otto indicates.

²⁷ See Otto, p. 21 and n. 14. For the block from the Hatshepsut chapel, see Chevrier, *Ann. Serv.*, XXVI (1926), Pl. IV, B.

²⁸ *Urk.*, IV, 183: 11.

with its central structure of alabaster,²⁹ though generally attributed to Thutmose III, has no identifying inscription on it, but the door through the wall before it has his name. This doorway once had a name beginning with "Amun," but the rest is now lost. Despite this negative evidence, Otto's suggestion that this was the site of "Amun, Enduring of Monuments," may well be correct. This is supported by the measurements of the shrine of Amenhotep I and that by the seventh pylon; Chevrier tells me that the length of the alabaster parts of both is the same, while the one by the seventh pylon is 15 cm. wider.

Otto has utilized some of the records from the blocks of the dismantled chapel of Hatshepsut, which were reused in later buildings, especially in the third pylon, but there are further topographical details to be gained.³⁰ The name of the chapel seems to be given in two scene titles. "The king coming and going, and resting in the temple of Kamare," the Place of the Heart of Amun,³¹ and "The king coming and going, being introduced into the temple of Menkheperre, the Place of the Heart of Amun" (Inscription 4a, b).³¹ This is probably the building referred to in the inscription of Thutmose III, "His majesty erected for him an august shrine, the Place of the Heart of Amun, . . . of red quartzite."³²

Red quartzite is the material of all but the lower courses of the Hatshepsut chap-

²⁹ N. K. P. Pl. VIII, Fig. 4.

³⁰ Where no other source is given for these details, they are from personal observation. To Professor Pierre Lacau and M. Henri Chevrier I express my thanks for their permission to use the material in my Inscriptions 4-14 prior to their publication of the blocks from the chapel of Hatshepsut.

³¹ It appears that the name of Thutmose III is entered over an erasure, probably of the name "Kamare."

³² *Urk.*, IV, 167: 1-3. From the erasures of the name of Hatshepsut and the additions of the name of Thutmose III, evidently the king intended to take over this monument himself. But later he decided to erect an entirely new sanctuary.

el, which must have contained the sanctuary, the "Great Seat." Thutmosis III replaced it with one built of granite (p. 23). Therefore, neither can be identified with "Kamare, Godly of Monuments," which was built of limestone.³³ What may be the same building as the latter is mentioned on the Hatshepsut chapel as "the House of Menkheperre, 'Amun, Godly of Monuments'" (with personification as a goddess).³⁴ It is not in the series of what apparently were Theban localities, but it is the only remaining structure named in a second group and is preceded by the figure of a Nile God with the *šm-w* plant on his head. Therefore it may be in some other area.

The six stations (*wšht*) of the bark were on the route between Karnak and Luxor, as is shown by the title of the scene of the bark being carried between the fifth and sixth stations, "Accompanying the god on his procession in his beautiful feast of Opet" (Inscription 5). The first three stations are noted by Otto (pp. 23, 24).³⁵ Then follow "The Fourth Station of Kamare, which cools the oar (?) of Amun" (Inscription 6), "The fifth Station of Kamare, which receives the beauty of Amun," and "The Sixth Station of Kamare, 'Amun, Holy of Steps.'" The last two appear again in the list of Theban localities, following the Luxor Temple, but numbered in the opposite direction, i.e., "First Station" (the sixth in the other list) and "Second Station" (the fifth in the other list).³⁶

The aforementioned list of Theban localities is on the lower outside register of

³³ *Urk.* IV, 476-7-8.

³⁴ Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, VI, 148, a.

³⁵ The author has been careless of his copies of the texts here and elsewhere. In the name of the first station the sign of the steps is omitted, and in the second the restorations of Sethe are given without indication that they are such. For the second, *m pr* 'Imn, there is no evidence.

³⁶ Otto, p. 24, Nos. 2 and 3, with *wšht tpt* and *wšht smwt* before them omitted in his copy.

one side of the Hatshepsut chapel. Neither Gauthier³⁷ nor Otto (pp. 24, 25) give them in order of their occurrence, and both omit some items. Nor does either mention the sex of the deity which personifies the place.³⁸ Therefore these details are given here.

The list begins with Otto's Nos. 4, 5, and 6, all of which are with goddesses; then comes "The Canal of Amun, 'Pure and Cool'" (Inscription 7), with a Nile god. After a gap comes Otto's No. 7, with a goddess, Nos. 8 and 9,³⁹ with Nile gods, then three Nile gods with the places, "The Canal of Amun *hnty hn*" (Inscription 8), "The Royal Palace of Kamare, '(As for) Amun, I am not far from him'" (Inscription 9),⁴⁰ and "The Royal Palace of [Kama]he, 'Amun . . .'" (Inscription 10).

Following another gap, the last group has the canals personified by Nile gods and the buildings by goddesses. The names are: "[The Royal Canal] of Kama[re]" (Inscription 11),⁴¹ "The House of 'Aakheperkare, 'United with Life,'" "The Royal Canal of 'Aakheperkare" (Inscription 12), "The House of Menkheperre, 'Presenting Life,'" "The Royal Canal of

³⁷ Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, VI, 146-48, where the copies are correct against those of Otto. The only error in the former is the transposition of the groups *pr hn* and *mry* in No. 7.

³⁸ For an example of the goddess see Chevrier, *Ann. Serv.*, XXVII (1927), Pl. VI.

³⁹ This group of inscriptions is on two blocks, with an apparent join running through No. 9. As far as the inscription is concerned, the join appears perfect. However, Dr. Herbert Ricke has pointed out to me, on the basis of a photograph, that, though the part of the figure to the right (the procession of figures is from right to left) is that of a Nile god, the part to the left has some features of a goddess. On a careful re-examination of the blocks I was unable to make a decision, as otherwise the join appears to be exact in all particulars.

⁴⁰ Other references to this palace are given by Otto, p. 25.

⁴¹ This restoration seems probable in view of the names of the following places and canals.

⁴² The mortuary temple of Thutmosis I (see Otto, p. 25, and Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, VI, 146).

⁴³ The mortuary temple of Thutmosis III (see Otto, p. 25, and Gauthier, *Dict. géog.*, VI, 148).

Menkheperre, "The Place of the Heart of Nun'" (Inscription 13), and then Otto's Nos. 1, 2, and 3. These last two are called, respectively, "The First Station" and "The Second Station."

Among the canals mentioned, the last two must be those going to the mortuary temples of the kings named, and one expects the "canal of Amun *hnty hn*" to have been near the building, "Amun *hnty pr hn*."

A scene from the Hatshepsut chapel shows the bark of Amun "resting at the Great Place in Amun *Dsr-dsrw*, in the house of monuments" (Inscription 14). The significance of the last phrase is uncertain; perhaps it is parallel to *pr Imn*, "the estate of Amun," and means "the area of monuments."

Otto's Tafel III gives the central area of the Karnak complex and indicates by numbers twenty-four places discussed. The following index will help in locating them in the text:

No. 1, p. 34, n. 11	No. 13, p. 27, n. 2
No. 2, p. 19, n. 13	No. 14, p. 27, n. 1
No. 24, p. 28, n. 14	No. 15, p. 22, n. 16,
No. 3, p. 25, n. 3	and p. 29, n. 5
No. 4, p. 26, n. 16	No. 16, p. 27, n. 4
No. 5, p. 26, n. 14	No. 17, p. 27, n. 5
No. 6, p. 21, n. 6	No. 18, p. 22, n. 7
No. 7, p. 26, n. 15	No. 19, p. 22, n. 13
No. 8, p. 26, n. 7	No. 20, p. 30, n. 9
No. 9, p. 26, n. 8	No. 21, p. 30, n. 8
No. 10, p. 26, n. 9	No. 22, p. 29, top
No. 11, p. 26, n. 6	No. 23, p. 27, n. 6
No. 12, p. 27, n. 2	No. 24, p. 27, n. 7

The name, "The House of Hedjkheperre-setepenre in Thebes," recorded in the Gebel Silsila inscription of Harensaf,⁴⁴ probably designated the first court of Karnak erected by Shoshenq I. This official, who tells of the plans for this court, was overseer of works in the place named, and

⁴⁴ For the latest publication see Caminos, "Gebel es-Silsila No. 100," *JEA*, XXXVIII (1952), 48-61.

it is natural to assume that the name applies to the place described.⁴⁵

The name of the small temple of Seti II (or perhaps the name of the shrine of Amun alone?) as restored by Drioton⁴⁶ fits neither the space nor the traces. The remaining traces are shown in their relative position in Inscription 15a and the proposed restoration in Inscription 15b. Here I have followed the name of a similar building of Ramesses II in the first court of the Temple of Luxor. Otto (p. 42) has translated the latter, "the beautiful name of which, may it remain and last, is 'The Temple of Ramesses-meriamon united with eternity,' in the estate of Amun." But as "The Temple of Ramesses-meriamon united with eternity" is the name of the court, one would not expect it to be the name of the smaller shrine as well. Legrain is probably correct in believing that *mn wšht* is the expression for "way station" (*temple reposoir*),⁴⁷ and the Luxor example is to be translated, "the beautiful name of which is, 'The Way Station of the Temple of Ramesses-meriamon united with eternity,' in the estate of Amun." In the Seti II example there is one word, perhaps an adjective-verb, for which I cannot suggest a restoration; the whole would read, "the beautiful name of

⁴⁵ I do not feel the validity of the objection of Caminos, *ibid.*, p. 57, to such an identification, which he bases on the belief that the *premenen* of the king in the name of the building designated only a mortuary temple in the New Kingdom, and that such a rule may apply to this case. I think he has misunderstood the statement of Černý, *JEA*, XXVI (1940), 127, which I take to mean that mortuary temples of the New Kingdom had a name formed with the *premenen* of the king. To either view exceptions can be noted. In the name of the mortuary temple of Seti I only the *nomem* of the king is used in the temple itself, as far as I can determine. See also Gardiner's remarks on the use of the *nomem* of Ramesses V in the name of his mortuary temple, *The Without Papyrus*, II, *Commentary*, p. 132. On the opposite side, "The House of Usmare-setepenre, 'Happy over Truth,'" using the *premenen* of Ramesses II, is certainly not another name for the Ramessum. On this temple see further below.

⁴⁶ In Chevrier, *Le Temple reposoir de Seti II*, p. 26.
⁴⁷ *BIFAO*, XIII (1917), 60, n. 2.

which is, "... (is) the Way Station of Seti I, in the estate of Amun."

The gateway of the second pylon at Karnak (or perhaps the second pylon itself) was called "Illuminating Thebes." This name is found in the tomb of Ramose at Thebes, No. 166 (see above), on the gateway of the second pylon itself in a Ptolemaic text⁴⁸ and above the picture of the second pylon shown on the wall of the Temple of Khonsu.⁴⁹ This last inscription speaks of Herihor's "renewing 'Illuminating Thebes' anew, the name of which is 'Amun Rejoices'."⁵⁰ The significance of the two names is not clear; did Herihor rename the structure?

The floor of the doorway of the third pylon was "adorned with silver,"⁵¹ perhaps this is the "silver floor" mentioned in several oracle texts.⁵²

The doorway to the south of the fourth pylon⁵³ is named "Amon-re beholds the beauty of [User]mat[re]-setepene" (Inscription 16). The gateway from the court between the third and fourth pylons into the court north of the seventh pylon⁵⁴ is called "The great gateway of Neferkare-setepene, 'Adorning Monuments,' in the estate of Amun" (Inscription 17). Mariette located the doorway, "Amun, born of Mut," on the south side of the court before the sanctuary,⁵⁵ and Otto (p. 26) gives no justification for his different placement. The inscription has now disappeared. The inscription has now disappeared. The inscription has now disappeared.

⁴⁸ Otto, p. 32, misplaces this inscription. For the latest publication see Dröten, *Ann. Serv.*, XLIX (1949), 132.

⁴⁹ For bibliography see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 79 (32).

⁵⁰ Both Hughes and I believe this to be the correct translation.

⁵¹ Cairo 34025, recto, l. 22; see Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire* ("CCG"), p. 51.

⁵² Naville, *Inscription historique de Pinodjem III*, upper, l. 12, lower, ll. 6, 8; Maspero, *Les Momies royales*, p. 706, l. 24. The reviewer has an edition of the oracle texts from Karnak in preparation.

⁵³ N. K. P., K C 20.

⁵⁴ N. K. P., K C 9, K G 2.

⁵⁵ Karnak, Pl. V, No. 9.

appeared. The inscription on the false door of Thutmose III (p. 26) should read, "making for him a stela, 'Repeating the Monuments of Menkheperre,' in the estate of Amun" (Inscription 18).⁵⁶

The god named on the northern inner doorway of the eastern structure of Ramesses II (p. 34, n. 11) is Khonsu, not Re. The complementary southern doorway is named "Ramesses-meriamon, whose beauty Mut beholds."⁵⁷ The "upper gateway" is called "the great gateway of Usermare-setepene, 'Amun ...,' with the rest lost."

The outer gateway of the small temple of Ptah, in a renewal text of Ramesses III, recut in the Ptolemaic period, has the name, "Menkheperre, repeating monuments for his father" (Inscription 19).⁵⁸ In the small temple of Amenardis by the eastern inclosure wall the outer doorway has the inscription, "The great doorway of ... Amenardis, whom the people adore, in the house of her father Osiris, Ruler of Eternity" (Inscription 20).⁵⁹

The name of the festival temple of Amenhotep II, between the ninth and tenth pylons, on the east side, is "the Temple of Aakheperure, 'Amun rejoices when he ... to behold the beauty of Thebes'" (Inscription 21).⁶⁰

Mentioned in the Temple of Khonsu are Amon-re, King of Gods, together with Amunet, Lady of the Two Lands, "who are in (*hry ib*) 'The Hearing Ear' (*msdr*

⁵⁶ Willson and Hughes checked my copy of this inscription. Some other word for stela, as *wd*, might have been used, but the remaining sign in the group is certainly □, or a taller sign with a square top, and not O, as Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 852:14. The sign following the cartouche is a representation of a false door.

⁵⁷ Bargey, *Ann. Serv.*, L (1950), 276, 278.

⁵⁸ N. K. P., K H 82, south side, the "Sixth Gate" of Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 67; see also *Urk.* IV, 880, 6.

⁵⁹ N. K. P., K H 173; the inscription is incompletely published by Legrain, *Rec. Trav.*, XXII (1900), 126, C.

⁶⁰ N. K. P., K G 220, south jamb.

(*šm*), in the estate of Amun" (Inscription 22).⁶¹ There is no certain evidence in the inscription mentioning *iw-s šp-s*⁶² to help in its location. In the scene where Amon-re of this place appears, the accompanying legends speak of "offering to Amon-re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, offering to Amon-re Kamutef, offering to Amon-re in heaven and earth, offering to Amon-re in his every place, with what your beloved son gives, who makes festive *bnbn*, Herihor." The accompanying deities are "Khonsu ... , who is in Karnak" and "Hathor, who is in the august *bnm*."⁶³ The two upper registers on the first wall of the court, of which this scene is a part, mention gods of various localities. Only in this scene is *bnbn* (*bnm*), the name of the Khonsu temple area, mentioned. In the Egyptian Museum in Cairo there is a block of a New Kingdom relief, provenience unknown (Journal d'Entrée No. 1549), with the head of a female figure personifying *iw šp-t-s*, the name being inclosed in the symbol of a walled area, as is known with *hft hr nb-s* and *grg W 3st*. If, in spite of the difference in orthography, this refers to the same place, it seems possible that *iw-s šp-s* was the designation of the inclosed area in which the Temple of Khonsu stood.

West of the doorway of the Mut temple of Amenhotep III a Ptolemaic inscription calls the building "the house, 'Making Joyous Isheru'" (Inscription 23),⁶⁴ while a Ptolemaic renewal text gives the name of the gateway as "The Great One (i.e., Mut) Comes."⁶⁵

In the building south of the Karnak sacred lake many of the door jambs to the rooms show that these were magazines

⁶¹ N. K. P., K M 205. For a similarly named place in Memphis see P. Salter IV, vs. 4, 4, transcribed in Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanea*, p. 91.

⁶² In other examples of this or a similar name quoted by Otto, p. 32, the writing is only *iw šp-s*.

⁶³ N. K. P., K M 210.

⁶⁴ N. K. P., K Mut B 52.

⁶⁵ N. K. P., K Mut B 53, p. 42.

⁶⁶ Bicks, ZÄS, LXXIII (1937), 124-31.

⁶⁷ B.A.R., IV, § 488.

⁶⁸ For the bibliography of this inscription see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 56, (32). I owe this reference to Nelson.

⁶⁹ Gardiner, *J.E.A.*, XXXVIII (1952), Pl. IV, l. 2, and p. 9.

⁷⁰ Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, p. 32.

⁷¹ *RIK*, I, 90, 4, and similarly in the Temple of Khonsu, N. K. P., K M 214, l. 18 of the Epigraphic Survey's drawing prepared for future publication.

⁷² N. K. P., L G 109.

⁷³ N. K. P., L A 97. A shorter version of the name, from the outside jamb, L G 109, is given by Otto, p. 42.

⁶⁹ For a published example see *PSBA*, VII (1885), 110.

⁷⁰ Bicks, ZÄS, LXXIII (1937), 124-31.

⁷¹ B.A.R., IV, § 488.

⁷² For the bibliography of this inscription see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 56, (32). I owe this reference to Nelson.

⁷³ Gardiner, *J.E.A.*, XXXVIII (1952), Pl. IV, l. 2, and p. 9.

⁷⁴ Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, p. 32.

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⁷⁶ N. K. P., L G 109.

⁷⁷ N. K. P., L A 97. A shorter version of the name, from the outside jamb, L G 109, is given by Otto, p. 42.

the first court, "Amun rejoices in his monuments" (Inscription 26),⁷⁵ (c) the doorway from the colonnade into the second pillared forecourt, "Amun is dignified by ordaining the making of a great monument in [Opet]" (Inscription 27),⁷⁶ (d) the southwestern doorway to this forecourt, "Making festive . . ." (Inscription 28),⁷⁷ (e) the doorway to the shrine of Khonsu (inscribed by Ramesses II), "Propitiating Khonsu" (Inscription 29),⁷⁸ (f) the central doorway on the south of the vestibule, "Amun, who makes festive Opet" (Inscription 30),⁷⁹ (g) the doorway at the south of the antechamber, "Amon-re, Great of Joy" (Inscription 31),⁸⁰ and (h) the doorway at the south of the next room, "Nebmare, who causes the beauty of his father Amun to appear" (Inscription 32).⁸¹

Though Otto (p. 49) believes that *Hf/br-nbs* might occasionally designate the area between Karnak and the Nile, none of the texts quoted nor any others known to me necessitate this conclusion. Winlock, who seems to have originated the idea that the name designated a quay at first, put this on the west side of the river,⁸² and all references can be interpreted as applying to the west bank. Nor is it necessary to follow Winlock's interpretation of the place as a landing stage; *ḥmw*, "banks," could refer to the sides of the canals of the mortuary temples, or possibly to the sides of the causeway going to Deir el Bahri. The passage quoted

⁷⁵ N. K. P., L G 46.

⁷⁶ N. K. P., L C 26, eastern jamb. This, and all the following doorways, with the exception of (c), were inscribed by Amenhotep III.

⁷⁷ N. K. P., L G 59.

⁷⁸ N. K. P., L D 6, top lue, which is omitted in Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor*, p. 54.

⁷⁹ N. K. P., L D 13, 16.

⁸⁰ N. K. P., L D 167.

⁸¹ N. K. P., L E 30. Otto, p. 41, repeats the erroneous copy of Gayet.

⁸² J. E. A., X (1924), 224 f., and Pl. XIII. Otto apparently misunderstood this.

mud brick inclosure wall about the small temple,⁸³ and other such stones came from various places in the Theban area (p. 64), the translation should be, "A Theban (inclosure-)wall of Kamare."

Whether the "House of Seti-merenptah in the estate of Amun" (p. 65) is to be identified with the mortuary temple of Seti II is uncertain. However, P. Anastasi IV, 7.1⁸⁴ does mention "The House of Millions of Years of King Userkheperure-setepenre in the estate of Amun," which most probably was the mortuary temple.

On the terrace of the Ramesseum the south doorway is "Making monuments in the house of his father Amun" (Inscription 35),⁸⁵ and the north doorway is "Doing benefactions for his father Khonsu" (Inscription 36).⁸⁶ On the doorway, "United with eternity," the name has the sun disk with *nkh*, though this is not reproduced in the published copies.

Wine-jar docketts found at the Ramesseum mention "The House of Usermare-setepenre, 'Happy over Truth,' in the estate of Amun."⁸⁷ Apparently this is in the Theban area, but its location is unknown. A doorway of Ramesses II with a similar name opened into a judgment hall which was near Karnak.⁸⁸ A small temple, originally erected by Seti I, stood against the north side of the Ramesseum.⁸⁹

The stamped bricks found at Medinet Habu bearing the names of the buildings, "Nebmare in the house of joy" (p. 68, n. 11) and "Menkheperre, beloved of Amun

⁸³ Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II, 32; see also pp. 45-56. Otto, p. 64, n. 4, apparently reads the first group *hnt*, but is equally possible that it reads *shp*.

⁸⁴ Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 41.

⁸⁵ N. K. P., Ramesseum, 84, 85.

⁸⁶ N. K. P., Ramesseum 71.

⁸⁷ ZÄS, LVIII (1923), 31.

⁸⁸ ZÄS, XVII (1879), 72. Gardiner, *AEO*, II, 27*, doubts that *hr hr 'Imn* here has any relation to the town *Hr hr 'Imn*, for which see Otto, pp. 62 f.

⁸⁹ Hölscher, *op. cit.*, III, 75.

who receives libations" (p. 72), were published in 1939.⁹⁰

At Medinet Habu, on the south wall of the passage-way of the High Gate, is "Ptah the Great, South of His Wall, Lord of Life of the Two Lands, the Great God, who hears prayers, who is in the House of Millions of Years, 'United with Eternity,' in the estate of Amun."⁹¹ The figure of the god had the hair and the beard inlaid. That this figure was singled out for special attention makes it almost certain that this is the "Ptah of the Great Gate" mentioned in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III and elsewhere.⁹²

The gateway of the first pylon of the mortuary temple is named "Usermare-meriamon, Rich in Monuments."⁹³ In the gateway of the second pylon the figure of Amon-re on the south thickness is said to be, in a painted inscription on the belt of the king, *hry ib t3 wmt*, "who is in the thickness of the doorway."⁹⁴

The place name "Sunshade of Re" occurs in the room behind the Re Chapel, over the doorway.⁹⁵ In view of the material on "Sunshades" collected and discussed by Fairman,⁹⁶ I believe that this name designates a Re chapel whether it is a separate building or an integral part of a larger temple. Therefore, in Medinet Habu it refers to the Re Chapel there.

Otto has given lists of gods "who are in" various temples. Since few of these lists are complete, they can be of little help in the study of temple cults. To the gods

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 7, Fig. 6, g and h.

⁹¹ N. K. P., MH D 119.

⁹² Otto, p. 74. The MH examples are found in *Medinet Habu*, IV, 245 C, and location A 166a, to be published in *Medinet Habu*, Vol. V. For two or more stelae giving this designation of Ptah see Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh, Année 1926*, p. 22.

⁹³ *Medinet Habu*, IV, 244 I, N.

⁹⁴ N. K. P., MH A 279.

⁹⁵ Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 186, room 31; N. K. P., MH A 501.

⁹⁶ Pendlebury et al., *The City of Akhetaten*, III, Text, pp. 200-208.

he mentions "who are in" the mortuary temple of Ramesses III (p. 74) can be added even a greater number: (a) Thoth, Lord of Shmun; (b) Nebet-hetepet; (c) Amon-re Kamutef; (d) Sekhmet; (e) Mut, Lady of Isheru; (f) Geb; (g) Osiris Wenen-nefer; (h) Ptah of Ramesses III; (i) Bastet, Lady of "Ankh-tawy; and (j) Maat, daughter of Re.¹⁰³

On pages 35-36 Otto rejects the belief of Kees and Varille, now accepted by Gardner,¹⁰⁴ that "Southern Heliopolis" is Thebes, and believes this name designates Hermonthis only. On page 75, top, in his three quotations from the mortuary temple of Ramesses III he translates "Hermonthis" for "Southern Heliopolis." My present impression is that the deities of Hermonthis occur as frequently on the east side of the river as on the west.¹⁰⁵ It is also my impression that in the New Kingdom "Southern Heliopolis" at some times must refer to Hermonthis but that at other times it refers to Thebes. But without a wider study of the Theban inscriptions these impressions can be neither proved nor refuted.

Labib Habachi, Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, has called my

¹⁰¹ The locations of these, following N. K.P., MH, are: (a) A 182a; (b) A 176b; (c) A 202; (d) A 173c; (e) A 210b; (f) A 214b; (g) A 332; (h) Col. 35, base, south side; (i) A 634. Incidentally, the only evidence that the goddess *ṣndr* is from Sūt, as Otto states, is that she stands behind the Southern Wepwawet. Since on the opposite wall a goddess (name lost) who is in (*ḥrw tb*) Hardy's stands behind the Northern Wepwawet, this is hardly conclusive.

¹⁰⁴ *JEA*, XXXVIII (1952), 13, n. 12.

¹⁰⁶ Otto's references, p. 75, n. 1, give little support to his idea. The first should read *L.D.*, Text, III, 181, where the scene mentioned is one of a geographical scene. *MH Zettel 1054* has inscriptions from various geographical scenes. The only gods fitting Otto's description are (N, *K.P.*, *MH A 49:26*) "Montu, Lord of Thebes" accompanied by "Revet-Tawi, who is in Thebes," and (N, *K.P.*, *MH A 49:23*) "Atum who is in Tod," accompanied by "Tjenenet." For this latter see *J.E.A.*, XXXVIII (1952), 41, under E 137. Since the purpose of scenes of a geographical nature was to name local gods and places, they cannot be used to illustrate the influence of any particular deity in any other place than that named.

attention to the fact that other colossal statues besides the Colossi of Memnon are named, and he has given me the following names and references.¹⁰⁶ The statue of Amenhotep III to the south of the tenth pylon at Karnak, excavated by the late Alexandre Varille, is "Montu of the Rulers." The granite colossus in the Ramesseum and the statue of Ramesses II in the first court of the Luxor Temple, to the west of the doorway to the colonnade, are both "Re of the Rulers."¹⁰⁷ The colossus of Ramesses II to the east of the entrance through the pylon of the Luxor Temple is "Ruler of the Two Lands."¹⁰⁸ Labib has also called my attention to the base of the western obelisk, where "Ramesses II, beloved of Atum," is apparently the name of the obelisk itself.¹⁰⁹

On the problem of Kerameia, located by Otto (p. 79) near Medinet Habu, but which others, now with strong support from Bataille,¹⁰⁶ identify with Medamut, perhaps the following observations will give some help. The correct reading of the demotic was, I believe, pointed out by Sethe as "Montu, Lord of Medamut (*M 3d*)."¹⁰⁷ Since oaths were to be taken at "the door of the House of Djene, at the house of Montu, Lord of Medamut," and sworn by "the Bull of Medamut," it is obvious that this "House of Montu" was at Medinet Habu. I would suggest that it was an adjunct to the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. Note the inscription of Hakis, "He made a burial crypt (*t igt*) for his fathers, all the gods of the necropolis,

¹⁰⁶ See his forthcoming article, "Rameses II as Sun-of-the-Rulers."

¹⁰⁶ See his forthcoming article, "Ramses II as Sun-of-the-Rulers."

¹⁰⁷ See Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 151 (13) and p. 102 (36); Roeder, *ZAS*, LXI (1926), 63.

¹⁰⁸ For bibliography see Porter and Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 100 (3).

¹⁰⁹ For bibliography see *ibid.*, p. 99 (2)

110 "L'Emplacement des Kerameia thébains,"
Chronique d'Égypte, No. 42 (Jul. 1946), pp. 237-44.

¹¹¹ ZÄS, LXIX (1933), 120, n. to l. 4. For bibliography see Erichsen, "Der demotische Papyrus Berlin 3116," *Aegyptus*, XXII (1952), 22, n. to col. 3, l. 26.

while Montu, Lord of Thebes, the Bull which is in Medamut, renews their members every day."¹¹² However, in demotic papyrus Berlin 3116, "the House of Montu, Lord of Medamut," was another name for Medamut itself, just as "the House of Hathor" was a name of Gebelen.¹¹³

It is impossible, within the scope of this article, to review all the demotic material, and a few notes must suffice. On page 43, No. 3, in *T3-mntal-Isur*, the last element means "Syria,"¹¹⁴ not "Isheru." On page 81, No. 7, "the northern quarter of Thebes, in the House of the Cow," is certainly the area north (or perhaps north-west) of Karnak.¹¹⁶ Another example of "the Island of Ary" is found in P. Adler D. 24, lines 3, 4, "the mud flat (*gs sꜣne*) of the Island of Ary."¹¹⁸ On page 105, Anhang I, C.3, Tsenchoua is a personal, and not a place, name.¹¹⁷

At Hermonthis it should be noted that the name of the gateway of the pylon of the Temple of Montu is "Rameses-meriamon is everlastingly beloved, in the house of his father Montu"¹¹¹⁸

In his third appendix Otto gives a list of officials of the Theban mortuary temples. From Theban tomb 148, of Amenepe, Third Prophet of Amun, and

¹¹² De Rougé, *Insc. Hiéro.*, CXXX.

¹¹¹ Gardiner, *AEO*, II, 17*.

¹¹⁴ Erichsen, *op. cit.*, p. 25, n. to col. 5, l. 8.

¹¹⁵ Glanville, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, I, xxi-xxv, and "Notes on a Demotic Papyrus," in *Essays and Studies Presented to Stanley Arthur Cook* (1950), pp. 61 f.

¹¹⁶ Adler *et al.*, *The Adler Papyri*, p. 104 and Pl. XVI. The correct reading of these lines and interpretation of this document was pointed out to me many years ago by Hughes.

¹¹⁷ Brugsch, *Lettre à Monsieur . . . de Rougé*, p. 20. The correct reading of the name is *Ti-ḥt-ti-g*; see Erichsen, *op. cit.*, p. 19, col. 6, l. 19.

¹¹⁸ Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armani*, p. 162, Pl. LXXXVII.

son-in-law of the First Prophet of Amun, Ramesses-nakht, several additions can be made: (a) Iay (*Ḳ3y*), Superior of the Harim of Amun in the House, "United with Thebes" (the Ramesseum); (b) Usermontu, Setem Priest in the House of Nebmare,¹¹⁹ (c) Bekenkhonsu, Overseer of Cattle in the House of Usermare-meriamon,¹²⁰ and (d) Ramesses-nakht, First Prophet of Amun and Chief Steward of the House of Usermare-meriamon in the estate of Amun in western Thebes.¹²¹ Lefebvre mentions the title, "First Prophet of Amun in 'United with Thebes,'" but gives no reference.¹²² Nesamun, Second Prophet of Amun, was Setem Priest in the mortuary temple of Ramesses III.¹²³

It is because of the prime importance of Otto's monograph that it has been thought worth while to make this extensive review. The reviewer wishes to add his own plea for more exact and more extensive copies of the monuments. Even such an excellent collection of texts as Sethe, *Unkunden IV*, needs revision and correction in many details. Moreover, our present records of the texts of religious scenes in the pharaonic temples, even in the transcriptions made for the Berlin *Wörterbuch*, are scrappy. It is only when there is considerable improvement in these matters that we can hope for definitive studies based on the information which the monuments contain.

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¹¹¹⁹ Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I. 349.

¹²⁰ Also mentioned in Couyet and Montet, *Inscriptions du Ouddi Hamdâni*, p. 37, No. 12, l. 14.

¹²¹ in Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak*, pp. 181, 260.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 13, n. 7.

¹²³ Kees. Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat, p. 318.

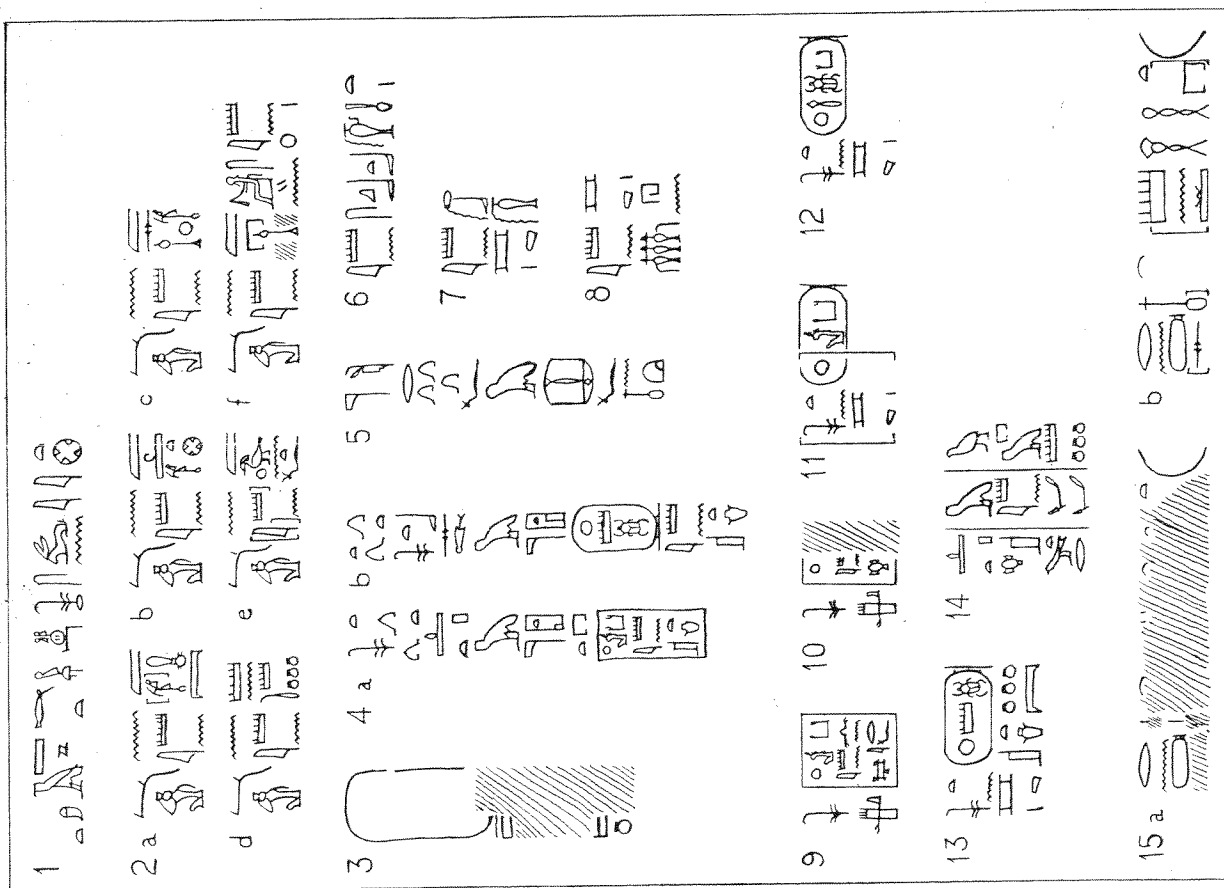


FIG. 1

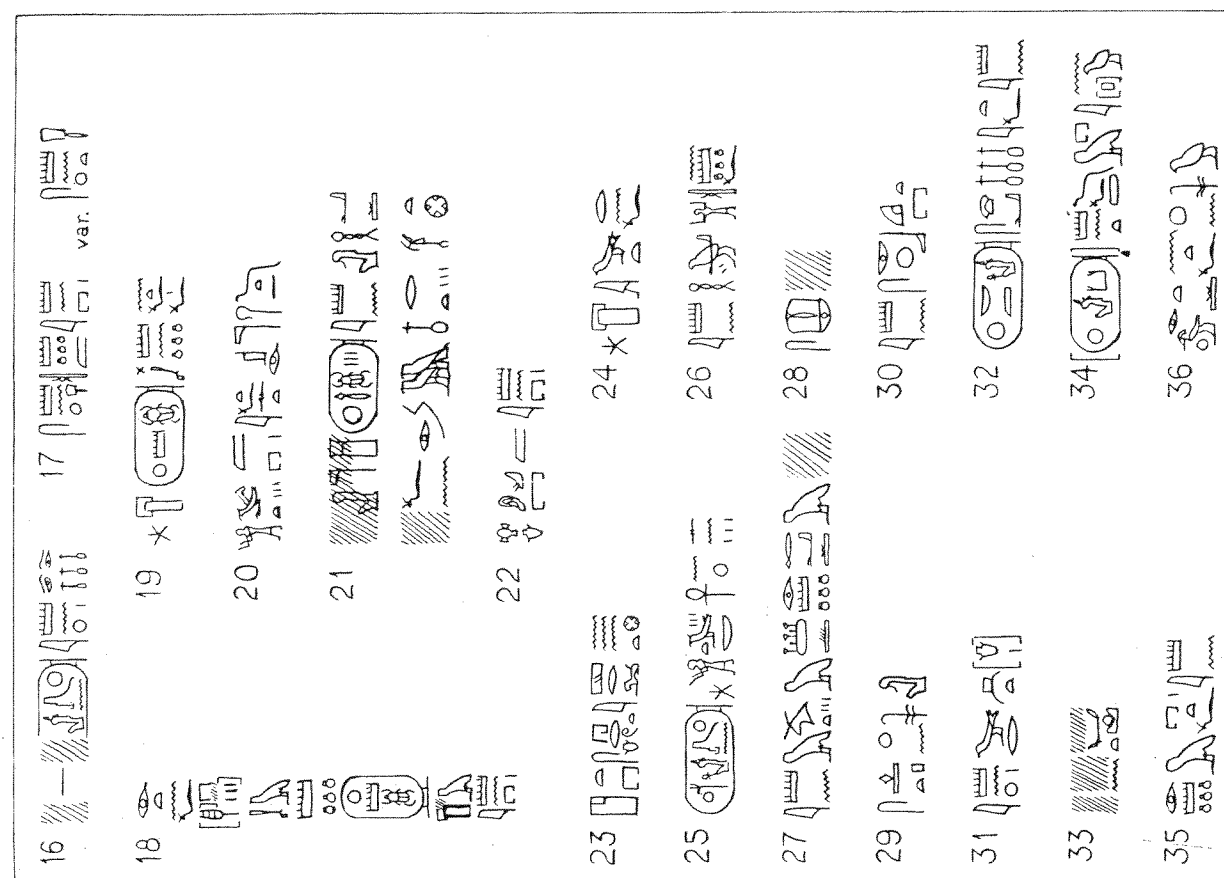


FIG. 2